

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 010317
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 010317

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE -- THE PREPARATORY
-- MEETING

REFS: A) STATE 304584 B) STATE 009708

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PAGE 02 STATE 010317

1. WE HAVE RECENTLY MADE CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLADS DISCUS-
SIONS OF PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE WHICH WERE DESIGNED TO
FOCUS ALLIED ATTENTION ON THE QUESTIONS OF NEW PROPOSALS
TO BE PUT FORWARD AT BELGRADE (REF A) AND ON THE CENTRAL
BELGRADE FUNCTION OF THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION (REF B).
THIS TELEGRAM TRANSMITS A SIMILAR US CONTRIBUTION ON THE
PREPARATORY MEETING TO BEGIN IN BELGRADE ON JUNE 15. LIKE

OUR PREVIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS IT BUILDS ON THE OVERALL OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN IDENTIFIED IN NATO CONSULTATIONS AND WHICH ARE REFLECTED IN THE EXISTING NATO PAPER ON BELGRADE. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INTENDED AS A STIMULUS TO ALLIED THINKING. WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE REACTIONS OF OUR ALLIES AND WISH TO TAKE ALLIED VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT AS WE FORMULATE OUR FINAL POSITIONS. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE NEED FOR GENERAL WESTERN UNITY IS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS IN BELGRADE.

2. YOU SHOULD CIRCULATE THE FOLLOWING PAPER TO THE POLADS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY, MAKING THE ABOVE POINTS AND INDICATING THAT WE HOPE FOR A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING AT THE NEXT NATO EXPERTS' SESSION ON FEBRUARY 7.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

-- BELGRADE -- THE PREPARATORY MEETING --

THE FINAL ACT DEFINES FAIRLY CLEARLY THE TASKS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING: "DECIDE ON THE DATE, DURATION, AGENDA AND OTHER MODALITIES" OF THE MAIN MEETING. IN ADDITION TO THESE SPECIFIC TASKS, HOWEVER, THE PREPARATORY MEETING WILL SET THE TONE FOR THE MAIN MEETING AND WILL PROVIDE A LOCUS FOR A WIDE VARIETY OF INFORMAL CORRIDOR CONTACTS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE MUTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL POSITIONS AND PROVIDE A BACKGROUND OF INFORMATION, PRECEDENTS AND WORK HABITS TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 010317

SUPPLEMENT THE FORMALLY AGREED AGENDA AND MODALITIES. FOR THESE REASONS WE BELIEVE THE PREPARATORY MEETING CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ENSURING THAT THE MAIN MEETING EVOLVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH WESTERN CONCEPTIONS AND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROVIDE THE BEST POSSIBILITIES FOR MEETING WESTERN AIMS.

--WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IN THE PREPARATORY MEETING IS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA, STRUCTURE FOR DISCUSSION AND PROCEDURAL OUTCOME FOR THE MAIN MEETING WHICH WILL BEST SERVE OUR SUBSTANTIVE AIMS AND OUR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY. CURRENT US THINKING ON THE DURATION OF THE MAIN MEETING, AS WELL AS THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF PLENARIES AND COMMITTEES, ARE DISCUSSED IN THE US CONTRIBUTION ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS SHOULD HELP TO GUIDE OUR APPROACH TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING:

1) MAINTAIN THE PREPARATORY MEETING AS A TECHNICAL MEETING: IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO CONCENTRATE PUBLIC AND PRESS ATTENTION ON THE MAIN MEETING, AND ESPECIALLY ON ITS REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. FOR THIS REASON WE SHOULD CONSCIOUSLY TREAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING AS A LOWER-LEVEL, TECHNICAL GATHERING WHOSE FUNCTIONS ARE NON-SUBSTANTIVE AND ARE LIMITED TO THE SPECIFIC MANDATE ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE FINAL ACT. WE RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATIONS WILL HOVER JUST BELOW

THE SURFACE OF THESE TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS, BUT WE SHOULD CONSCIOUSLY WORK TO AVOID SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS AND TO INDICATE THAT THEY ARE INAPPROPRIATE TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING AND SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR THE MAIN MEETING.

2) ENHANCE THE AUTHORITY OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE HELSINKI CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 STATE 010317

BLUE BOOK AS GUIDELINES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE BELGRADE MEETINGS: WE BELIEVE THIS IS IN OUR INTEREST BECAUSE IT WILL ENHANCE OUR POSSIBILITIES FOR GROUNDING THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT. THIS WILL PERMIT US TO TURN ASIDE THE VAGUE REFERENCES TO THE "SPIRIT OF HELSINKI" WHICH ARE LIKELY TO CHARACTERIZE THE POSITIONS OF THE USSR AND THE EAST EUROPEAN STATES. TO DO THIS WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD DELIBERATELY SEEK TO BASE THE AGENDA FOR THE MAIN MEETING ON THE SPECIFIC WORDS AND PHRASES INCLUDED IN THE FINAL ACT. SIMILARLY, WE SHOULD USE THE "BLUE BOOK" TERMINOLOGY AND PROCEDURES, AS WELL AS THOSE DEVELOPED DURING THE CSCE, AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. THIS APPROACH WILL BE UNASSAILABLE IN CONFERENCE TERMS SINCE THE PHRASEOLOGY OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF THE BLUE BOOK HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED.

3) ENSURE THAT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION APPEARS AS FIRST AGENDA ITEM: THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT CLEARLY INDICATES THAT THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE THE FIRST ITEM OF BUSINESS AT BELGRADE. WE SHOULD INSIST THAT THE AGENDA REFLECT THIS ORDER OF BUSINESS.

4) ACHIEVE WRITTEN AGREEMENT ON DATE, AGENDA, AND MODALITIES FOR MAIN MEETING: BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING, WRITTEN AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON AN AGENDA, COMMITTEE STRUCTURE, PROCEDURAL OUTCOME (E.G., COMMUNIQUE AND/OR CLOSING STATEMENTS) AND THE OPENING DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING. OTHER KEY PROCEDURAL ISSUES, SUCH AS CLOSED OR OPEN CHARACTER OF MEETINGS, ALSO SHOULD BE DETERMINED AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING,

JUST AS COMMITTEE MANDATES FOR GENEVA PHASE II OF CSCE WERE COMPLETED IN THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD AGREE IN PREPARATORY MEETING TO A CLOSING DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING, AS THIS WOULD REMOVE THE LEVERAGE INHERENT IN THE SOVIET WISH TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 010317

END THE BELGRADE MEETINGS QUICKLY.

5) AIM AT SHORT PREPARATORY MEETING: IN LINE WITH CONCENTRATING PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE MAIN MEETING, WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE PREPARATORY MEETING TO DRAG ON INTERMINABLY. WHILE IT MAY BE IN OUR INTEREST TO REJECT

ANY TIME LIMIT ON THE MAIN MEETING, IT WOULD NOT BE IN OUR INTEREST TO APPEAR TO BE HAVING AN ENDLESS SQUABBLE OVER PROCEDURE BEFORE GETTING DOWN TO THE REAL BUSINESS OF THE BELGRADE GATHERING. THE APPROACH OF USING THE ACTUAL WORDS AND PHRASES OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE BLUE BOOK WILL CONTRIBUTE TO KEEPING THE PREPARATORY MEETING SHORT. HOWEVER, AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE SHOULD NOT END THE PREPARATORY MEETING UNTIL OUR OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED.

6) THE PREPARATORY MEETING SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN CLOSED SESSIONS: WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN HOLDING A TECHNICAL, LARGELY PROCEDURAL DISCUSSION IN PUBLIC, SINCE IT WOULD GIVE AN UNDESIRABLE PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF THE BELGRADE MEETINGS.

7) PREPARATION IN ADVANCE: WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TABLE IMMEDIATELY, UPON THE OPENING OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING, A DRAFT AGENDA AND A DRAFT PAPER ON TIMING AND PROCEDURES FOR THE MAIN MEETING. AS A CONTRIBUTION TO NATO THINKING ON THESE POINTS WE SET OUT BELOW A POSSIBLE DRAFT AGENDA, DRAWN FROM THE FINAL ACT, AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE ALLIES.

DRAFT OF A POSSIBLE AGENDA FOR THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING

I. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF THE TASKS DEFINED BY THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 06 STATE 010317

II. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE QUESTIONS
DEALT WITH BY THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE, ON THE DEEPENING OF MUTUAL RELATIONS AMONG THE
PARTICIPATING STATES, THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE.

III. DEFINITION OF THE APPROPRIATE MODALITIES FOR THE
HOLDING OF OTHER MEETINGS. END TEXT.

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